

Message Text

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 BUDAPE 01499 01 OF 02 070817Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 DHA-02 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-01
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-04
PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 DODE-00 NSC-05
ACDA-07 CU-02 EB-07 STR-04 /101 W
-----070844Z 068587 /12

R 061400Z MAY 77

FM AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8457
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
AMCONSUL MUNICH
USNATO BURSSELS 0904
USMISSION GENEVA

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 1 OF 2 BUDAPEST 1499

E.O. 11652: NA
TAGS: PFOR, HU, CSCE, XG
SUBJECT: DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER'S ARTICLE ON PREPARATIONS FOR
BELGRADE CONFERENCE

1. SUMMARY: ARTICLE BY DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER JANOS
NAGY ENTITLED "ACCOUNTING FOR HELSINKI - PREPARATION
FOR BELGRADE" APPEARED IN APRIL ISSUE OF TARSADALMI
SZEMLE, PARTY'S IDEOLOGICAL JOURNAL. ARTICLE REFLECTS
APPARENTLY GENUINE GOH CONCERN THAT HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES
MAY UNDERMINE CONSTRUCTIVE WORK OF CONFERENCE, WHILE AT
SAME TIME, FORESHADOWING THE LINE THAT HUNGARY WILL TAKE
AT BELGRADE CSCE CONFERENCE. NAGY CAREFULLY LAYS GROUND-
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 BUDAPE 01499 01 OF 02 070817Z

WORK FOR BLAMING WEST IF EAST-WEST COOPERATION SHOULD
CEASE. THROUGHOUT, HE IS CRITICAL OF WEST, REPEATEDLY
ACCUSING IT OF INTERVENING IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF
"SOCIALIST COUNTRIES." HE MAKES POINT THAT, IF ATTACKED
AT BELGRADE, WARSAW PACT HAS AMPLE AMMUNITION FOR
COUNTERATTACK. ON OTHER HAND, A CONSTRUCTIVE RESULT
CAN COME ABOUT, NAGY DECLARES, IF EACH COUNTRY ADOPTS

JUST A FEW NEW IDEAS OR CONCEPTS FROM THE OTHERS. NAGY MAKES TWO POINTS HE HAS MADE WITH WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES IN PRIVATE: GOH DOES NOT WANT TO SEE EXTENSION OF CBM'S AT BELGRADE AND BELGRADE MEETING SHOULD NOT BE A FORUM FOR DISARMAMENT PROPOSALS. BOTH APPEAR TO BE DIRECTED TOWARDS PROPOSALS MADE OR ABOUT TO BE MADE BY, INTER ALIA, YUGOSLAVIA AND MALTA TO CITE TWO EXAMPLES. END OF SUMMARY.

2. NAGY NOTES THAT COLLECTIVE ASSESSMENT OF PROGRESS SINCE HELSINKI IS IMPORTANT TO FUTURE PROGRESS. PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE IS DEPENDENT, HOWEVER, ON US-SOVIET RELATIONS. NAGY WARNS AGAINST ADVERSARIES OF DETENTE IN WEST WHO, IN SOME CASES, HE SAYS, GO BEYOND MANIFESTATION OF SYMPATHY AND IDEOLOGICAL CAMPAIGNING TO POLITICAL INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES. FINAL DOCUMENT, HE DECLARES, DOES NOT GIVE RIGHT TO INTERFERE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF A STATE. LOOKING FOR INTERNAL OPPOSITION IN SOCIALIST COUNTRIES IS WISHFUL THINKING, NAGY MAINTAINS.

3. NAGY POINTS OUT COMBINED EFFORTS OF SOCIALIST AND CAPITALIST COUNTRIES ARE NECESSARY FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF FINAL DOCUMENT. NEUTRAL COUNTRIES, HOWEVER, MUST NOT BE IMPATIENT AT PACE OF PROGRESS WITH REGARD TO SECURITY AND CONFIDENCE ISSUES SINCE THESE ISSUES CANNOT BE DIVORCED FROM "REALITIES." ELEMENTS OF SELF-CRITICISM HAVE APPEARED IN POSITIONS OF NATO GOVERNMENTS BUT NAGY STILL DISLIKES BOURGEOIS ATTITUDE THAT CAPITALIST SOCIAL

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 03 BUDAPE 01499 01 OF 02 070817Z

SYSTEM AND BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY ARE SAID "TO BE A MODEL WHICH GUARANTEES AS A MATTER OF COURSE THE ASSERTION OF WHAT FINAL DOCUMENT CONTAINS." ON CONTRARY, NAGY MAINTAINS, WEST IGNORES FUNDAMENTAL "RIGHT TO WORK." IT IS OBVIOUS, HE SAYS, THAT (HUMAN RIGHTS) CAMPAIGN IS NOT FOR PROTECTION OF RIGHTS BUT TO POISON ATMOSPHERE IN EUROPE, UNDERMINE DETENTE, AND DIVERT ATTENTION OF WESTERN PUBLIC OPINION FROM CAPITALIST PROBLEMS.

4. WHY DO NOT ALL WESTERN COUNTRIES RATIFY UN HUMAN RIGHTS CONVENTIONS? WEST REFUSES TO COOPERATE ON BASKET TWO AND TO CEASE ECONOMIC DISCRIMINATION AGAINST EAST. EVEN ON BASKET THREE, MANY WESTERN COUNTRIES ARE SURPRISINGLY SILENT CLAIMING THAT THEIR SPHERE OF AUTHORITY IS MORE LIMITED THAN IT ACTUALLY IS. HUNGARY HAS MADE ALLOWANCES FOR FACT PRIVATE CAPITAL PREVAILS IN WESTERN CULTURE AND SOCIETY BUT WESTERN GOVERNMENTS COULD DO MORE IN NAGY'S OPINION.

5. NO ONE IN COUNTRY SEEKS TO DENY HUNGARIAN PUBLIC OPINION ACCESS TO AND INFORMATION ABOUT THE OUTSIDE WORLD BUT GOH WILL NOT PERMIT VIEWS TO GET IN ITS INFORMATION SYSTEM WHICH ARE PREJUDICIAL TO FUNDAMENTAL INTERESTS OF HUNGARIAN SOCIETY, STIR UP COLD WAR ATMOSPHERE OR APPEAR TO STILL LATENT BASE INSTINCTS OF PEOPLE. "NO OFFICIAL STATEMENT HAS BEEN MADE IN HUNGARIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OR IN OTHER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES CLAIMING THAT WE HAVE EXHAUSTED FULLY POSSIBILITIES OF UNILATERAL IMPLEMENTATION OF FINAL DOCUMENT," NAGY WRITES. BUT GOH IS AGAINST TURNING BELGRADE MEETING INTO "GRIEVANCE DAY." IN HUNGARIAN VIEW, COUNTRIES HAVE NO MANDATE TO REVISE FINAL DOCUMENT AT BELGRADE. MEETING THRE WILL BE CONSULTATIVE AND INTERIM STAGE ON ROAD TO IMPLEMENTATION OF FINAL ACT. "IF EACH PARTICIPATING COUNTRY ADOPS JUST A FEW NEW IDEAS AND CONCEPTS FROM THE OTHERS, PROGRESS HAS ALREADY LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 04 BUDAPE 01499 01 OF 02 070817Z

BEEN MADE." NAGY DOES NOT BELIEVE GOOD ATMOSPHERE AT BELGRADE IS YET ASSURED. HE STATES "IF WE ARE ATTACKED AND SLANDERED WE SHALL HAVE PLENTY TO SAY IN REPLY." "BUT WHO WOULD PROFIT? ONLY THE ADVERSARIES OF DETENTE."

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNN

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 BUDAPE 01499 02 OF 02 070810Z

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 DHA-02 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-01
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-04
PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 DODE-00 NSC-05
ACDA-07 CU-02 EB-07 STR-04 /101 W
-----070843Z 068364 /12

R 061400Z MYA 77

FM AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8458

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
AMCONSUL MUNICH
USNATO BURSSELS 0905
USMISSION GENEVA

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 2 OF 2 BUDAPEST 1499

E.O. 11652: N/A

6. CMB'S HAVE THEIR PLACE IN FINAL DOCUMENT BUT THERE HAS NOT YET BEEN EXPERIENCE ENOUGH TO CHANGE THEM. ONE SHOULD NOT SPECULATE ON EXPANDING FINAL DOCUMENT, NAGY SAYS: NOW IS THE TIME FOR IMPLEMENTATION. IN FINAL ANALYSIS, HE CONTINUES, BELGRADE CANNOT ATTEMPT TO ASSUME ROLE OF ALREADY EXISTING DISARMAMENT FORUMS. IT IS NOT A LACK OF SUITABLE FORUMS THAT CAUSES SLOW PROGRESS IN FIELD OF DISARRMAMENT BUT REALITIES. NAGY CONCLUDES BY TRUSTING THAT SOBER AND JUDICIOUS POSITION WILL PEVAIL AND THAT LONG-TERM INTERST IN STABILIZATION OF DETENTE WILL IN END SET TONE OF BELGRADE MEETING.

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 BUDAPE 01499 02 OF 02 070810Z

7. COMMENT: NAGY ARTICLE IS INTERESTING AMALGAM OF HUNGARIAN AND SOVIET VIEWS. FOR EXAMPLE REMARK THAT IF EACH COUNTRY ACCEPTS A FEW NEW IDEAS PROGRESS WILL BE MADE SOUNDS PARTICULARLY HUNGARIAN AND RECALLS GOH'S BILATERAL PROPOSALS TO WESTERN STATES IN CSCE IMPLEMENTATION CONTEXT. ON OTHER HAND, NAGY'S REFERENCE TO WISHFUL THINKING ABOUT ENCOURAGING OPPOSITION ELEMENTS COMES STRAIGHT OUT OF SOVIET PHRASE BOOK. NAGY KNOWS BETTER.

8. HUNGARIANS APPEAR READY TO GO EITHER WAY AT BELGRADE DEPENDING UPON COURSE OF US-SOVIET RELATIONS AND MANNER IN WHICH US AND ITS ALLIES PROCEED WITH HUMAN RIGHTS MATTERS. THEY CLEARLY WISH TO BLAME WEST IF BELGRADE SHOULD NOT SUCCEED AND ARE DETERMINED TO MAINTAIN AN OFFENSIVE POSTURE PUBLICLY ALTHOUGH THEY PRIVATELY WORRIED ABOUT PROSPECTS FOR CSCE AND DETENTE.

9. COPY OF TRANSLATION POUCHED TO DEPARTMENT FOR EUR/RPM.
MUD

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptoning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PRESS COMMENTS, MEETINGS, COLLECTIVE SECURITY AGREEMENTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 06-May-1977 12:00:00 am
Decapton Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decapton Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977BUDAPE01499
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770160-1058
Format: TEL
From: BUDAPEST
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770587/aaaacwtq.tel
Line Count: 219
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 8fc78a99-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 03-Feb-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2620544
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER\S ARTICLE ON PREPARATIONS FOR BELGRADE CONFERENCE
TAGS: PFOR, HU, XG, CSCE, (NAGY, JANOS)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvgwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/8fc78a99-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009